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the example of some of the most distinguished of our brethren abroad, and fall into passionate exclamations upon the immorality disclosed by this work, as well in the state of society as in the individuals, whose names occur in our article. No person needs be told that many in the higher classes abroad—we are not aware that any considerable exception is to be made of one country over others—are scandalously corrupt, in the article of private morals. We read their works, recognize their talents, do justice to their accomplishments, mingle as one may say in their company, with this exception, and are on our guard in this point. We indeed, in this country, where the suspicion of laxity in the sacred relations of domestic life fixes a stigma on its subjects, might claim a right to bear loud testimony, did it serve any good purpose, against European corruption. But we would gently hint to our English brethren to abstain from any similar denunciations of French society, till that great scandal of the civilized world now under the consideration of the peers of the British realm, shall have been disposed of.

ART. IV.—*Report of the Committee of Merchants and others of Boston, on the Tariff.* Wells & Lilly, 1820, 8vo. pp. 20.

THE commerce and navigation of the United States have been subjected to a variety of experiments, that were not so much designed directly to advance their prosperity, as to serve other temporary and particular ends. Under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, the commerce of the country was wielded as a powerful instrument of war; and the restriction of it intended to produce the effects, which are generally brought about by armies and navies. But those were days of party feud and violence. The non-intercourse and embargo systems were more generally censured or approved, than examined or understood. Men took sides for or against them, not merely from motives of private interest or views of public policy, but from political feeling, according to the party to which they happened to belong.

A new system of measures powerfully affecting our commercial interests, has recently been projected; and it is fortunate, we think, that it comes forth under the protection of no political banner. No administration is now to be support-

ed or opposed ; and no party dethroned or defended, by the sacrifice of national interest or public industry. The field is open to a fair controversy, and the intelligence of the nation sits as a judge over the skill and adroitness of the combatants.

But notwithstanding the experiments to which it has been subjected, the commerce of the United States has, upon the whole, enjoyed the favour of the national government, and has been protected with care, kindness, and success. The ablest of our statesmen have devoted their talents to its service ; the investigations of our acutest political economists have explained the theory of its prosperity ; the experience of the most eminent merchants has contributed to the practical utility of the laws by which it has been regulated ; and the community and the government have thus conspired to secure its regular growth and permanent duration. This protection has not been extended to commerce from blind prepossession, or any theory of party politics, but because at every period of our national existence it has been manifest, that the commerce of the country has more than rewarded all the pains which have been taken to promote it ; that if it be the child of the nation, it is not as it has been ungently called, the ‘spoiled child,’ enfeebled by misplaced kindness, but the healthy offspring of which we have as much reason to be proud, as of the financial credit and the naval power, of which our commerce has been not so much the friend and patron, as the creator. In a country so large and a community so extensive as ours, it is unavoidable that commerce should have its enemies, who are jealous of its importance, and would willingly subject it to restraints and checks. But it is not without its friends, able to prove its claims to protection, and to demonstrate its ability to return the favors it receives. To this latter class we are indebted for the powerful and well written defence of its rights, contained in the paper before us.

The danger which now threatens the commerce of the United States, and has recently attracted the particular attention as well of its advocates as its opponents, arises from the propositions reported at the last session of congress, by the committee on manufactures. These propositions are known in familiar terms as the ‘new tariff,’ but have for their object not only a projected change in the laws of imposts and tonnage, but essential alterations in the whole commercial system, particularly as to drawback, credit on duties, and sales by auction. The

report before us is confined to the tariff regulating the amount of duties; that being the subject referred to the committee, by which it is reported. The design, however, of the remainder of the propositions alluded to is, equally with the tariff, to direct and control the occupations of one class of men, viz. of commercial men, by granting special privileges to those engaged in other pursuits, viz. in domestic or internal manufactures.

Perhaps this mode of expression may not be approved by the advocates of the new system. But we suppose they would readily admit and even defend the design of building up, by the aid of legislation, the manufacturing classes of the community, of enabling the people of the United States to make all they wish to consume, and to render the use of the productions of any foreign country unnecessary and impracticable, if the same articles, or those which will supply their place, can be produced at home; and that should the consequence of these plans be the serious reduction of the foreign commerce of the United States, it would not, in their view, be a fatal objection to their design. Looking then upon this as the acknowledged object of the measures in question, we cannot but express our surprise that a plan, forcibly to change the employment of that immense population, who live directly or indirectly on the commerce of this nation with other nations of the globe, could ever have been seriously contemplated; or in this age of intelligence and reason perseveringly pursued.

In the year 1816, the population of the United States amounted to 7,239,903. At the same time there were employed in the merchant service, 71,000 seamen. Adding to this number of male adults, as most of them are, the average number for the women and children corresponding to this number of men in the *census*, and the result will give one twentieth of the whole population directly concerned in the commerce and navigation of the country. In the four atlantic New England States, the proportion is much greater. With a population of 1,254,078 souls, they had 596,819 tons of shipping. Calculating the employment of six men for every hundred tons, and adding the proportion of females and children as before, it will be found that nearly one seventh of all the people of New England have a direct employment in navigation. This calculation moreover is upon a fair average; because though less than six men to one hundred tons

are employed in some large ships, on long voyages, yet that is the average number on coasting voyages, and it is increased to eight in the fisheries.

At the period mentioned, which is the last of which we have any general and official information, viz. 1816, the tonnage of the United States was estimated at 1,424,783 tons, and its value at \$71,239,150. If we take into consideration the number of men who are employed in constructing, repairing, and equipping this amount of shipping, and who of course, with their families are supported by it; the numbers employed in vending the commodities consumed, and in distributing them through the country, and the costs of the wharfs, warehouses, and other accommodations for commerce, which would be in a great degree useless for other purposes, and also that in one year (1816) the customs supplied \$28,586,330 to the treasury, and have yielded to the government, since the establishment of the present constitution, more than three hundred and fifty one millions of dollars besides the expenses of collection, we shall be able to form some conception of the immense interests involved in this greatest of all public or private employments; and shall surely hesitate to shake the pillars of that stupendous fabric, which would bring such terrible ruin in its fall.

But we are ready to go farther and say, that many districts of the United States are essentially commercial in their habits, occupation, and character; and that, in such places, *all* the inhabitants are vitally interested in the success of commercial enterprise, and would feel acutely every interruption of its course. Where the predominating spirit of a country is commercial, every citizen, whatever be his trade or profession, or however independent it may seem to be of the active pursuits of commerce, is vitally interested in its success; and the hundred ships of the merchant, whatever may be to him the result of a voyage, neither go nor return without diffusing prosperity far and wide, and moving the busy circles of population round us, as wave is moved by wave on the ocean through which they are borne. The same of course may be said of any other occupation which forms the great staple of the community. The habits are fixed, ability is doubled by use, practice has given facility; the channel is worn smooth by time, and the stream of labor flows easily and regularly along. A shipwright might originally have made a skilful

husbandman, an adventurous sailor might have subdued his enterprising spirit to the task of watching with patience the spindles of a cotton machine; but change from one to the other is ruinous to both.

Now it is not to be supposed that this predominant spirit of the community was at first a thing of arbitrary existence. It must in all cases grow out of deep seated national and political causes. Nor is it wise to project a serious alteration in the habits or occupations of a community, which are the consequences of a situation in which Providence has cast its members. A people naturally fearless and enterprising, living on a rocky shore, with the ocean breaking at their feet, invited by the facility of building ships and the safety which an indentation of bays and harbors offers them, is destined to march upon the wave; navigation must necessarily be their chief employment. Nature, that never does any thing in vain, demonstrates her intentions. The art or the laws of man can make only a partial diversion of its power, as the lightning rod takes now and then a little stream from the clouds, while the lightnings blaze and the thunders roll throughout the expanse of the atmosphere.

But is such a design contemplated, or will it result from the system which has been proposed? The measures projected must be the answer to this question, and not the accusations of one party, or the professions of another.

The repeal of drawbacks, the limitation of credit, the auction tax, and the act to regulate the duties on imports and for other purposes, are all parts of a system contrived for the avowed purpose of enabling the nation to supply its own resources—its food, clothing, and means of defence. It is declared that to be dependent on foreign nations for the articles essential for these purposes is inconsistent with true policy, and that the system, which has entailed this dependence, must be radically changed. This radical change is to be effected by excluding whatever can be made at home, as far as the home manufacture can supply the market, and by raising the impost upon nearly all the articles, which we shall continue from necessity to import.

This is the main principle, the great and commanding feature of the projected scheme, and when its consequences are developed, it will be seen whether they have been too strongly and extravagantly stated.

Look first to the repeal of the provision for drawback. All that great branch of business which consists in the re-exportation of articles of foreign growth, produce, or manufacture is at once destroyed; because after being subject to the payment of high duties here, they could not be sold in a foreign market with advantage. The extent of this trade, thus annihilated, may be seen from official reports. Excluding fractions, the total value of goods imported in four years ending 10th October 1818, was four hundred and thirteen millions and a half of dollars, of which sixty two and a half millions were re-exported, with drawback. In seventeen years ending in 1818, including the period of the embargo and war, the three and a half per cent. which was retained on drawback, and which was reduced in 1816 to two and a half per cent. amounted to \$2,314,877.

But the value in money is only a partial item in the estimate of this trade. It is carried on for the most part in long voyages, by a circuitous channel; and employs at profit the capital and labour of the American merchant. When the British government in 1805 and 1806, in 'a paroxysm of capricious aggression on our rights,' undertook to denounce a part of this trade and sweep it from the ocean, the alarm that spread through the country was excited, not more by the immense amount that became the spoil of the illegal plunderer, than by anxiety for the channels of trade, by which the excess of our imports was in future to find its way to foreign markets. But the entire trade is now in jeopardy. It is no longer a question about importations from a belligerent's colony, but whether any foreign goods shall be imported, beyond the necessary consumption of the country; and whether we shall retain the profit to be derived from their re-exportation, as well as the advantages of assorted cargoes, which have been found so profitable in a direct trade, and can only be enjoyed so long as the country remains an entrepôt. That this trade is now much smaller than it was at the time to which the calculations abovementioned were made, can be readily admitted without affecting the results; for who will deny the possibility of its again increasing to its former magnitude? The European world will not always be at peace. The causes of war are not destroyed; and a breathing time of peace will but revive the spirits of the combatants.

Moreover though this branch of trade be diminished, why go on to destroy, by our own act, what circumstances have already diminished? There is yet no small quantity remaining. American ships begin to sail on terms of equality with those of other nations. We can already, on fair principles, maintain a successful competition with the mercantile marine of the world. If labour is dearer and capital not so abundant, materials are more plenty, and more is required to be done by the same number of hands. To burthen this trade with the same charges, that fall on merchandise consumed in the country is to crush what remains of it; and to retire from competition when a concurrence of circumstances shall increase it. A wiser policy would perhaps be to liberate it from the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which is now retained by the custom-house.

The proposal for reducing the term of credit on duties payable on the importation of foreign goods, separated from the others of which it forms an essential part, may have been considered at least of doubtful utility; but in this connexion is entitled to a different consideration. It makes an essential alteration in existing laws; and in our opinion is decidedly hostile to the general interests of the commercial community; and especially of those young merchants who are beginning their career with more enterprize than capital.

The credits as they now stand are as follows, viz :

Duties on importations from the West Indies and north of the equator, except Europe, half in six months, and half in nine months.

From Europe, one third in eight months, one third in ten months, and one third in twelve months.

From the East Indies, one third in eight months, one third in ten months, and one third in eighteen months.

On wines, one year.

On salt, nine months.

Teas, one third in eight, ten, and twelve months, or if entered for exportation and deposited as collateral security to the importer's bond, two years' credit is given.

The projected act, which may yet become a law, enacted, that the duties on all goods and merchandise imported into the United States, shall be paid in cash before a permit shall be granted for landing the same, with the exception of gums and medicinal drugs, spices, coffee, indigo, pepper, salt, ochre, sugar, on which a credit of three and six months is to

be given ; and of teas, on which the duties are to be paid in three, six, and nine months. In this bill, however, provision was made to prevent actual payment, if goods are entered for exportation and deposited in the public stores ; a provision which would have been wholly nugatory, if the principle of drawback was abolished.

Now this is an important, for it is a radical change. It is not justifiable nor pretended to be justified as a measure of revenue, inasmuch as the secretary of the treasury reported to Congress, that since the establishment of the government less than one half of one per cent. on the whole amount of imposts, had been lost by a failure of payment. That it grants equal facilities to foreigners and American merchants, can be no good reason in favour of this portion of the bill, for the China and East India trade, on which it bears with peculiar severity, is wholly in the hands of our own citizens, and the details of the bill, which might easily have been adjusted to such an object, still leave the importation, as it would thereafter exist, on similar terms of equality. Its effect, if not its object, is to curtail the importation of foreign manufactures by diminishing the facility of importing them.

The original object of this credit was to supply a deficiency of capital. In the first place, because the tax on consumption, if paid before consumption, must be advanced by the importer, and require an addition to his capital of that whole amount. The average of all duties is a quarter part of the value of the article imported, and on teas about one hundred per cent. on their cost in Canton. To purchase the article would require one capital abroad, while to pay the claim of the government would require another capital at home. The higher the duties, the greater is the want of this credit ; and that necessity is increased by a deficiency of capital. The proposed tariff therefore has the double hardship of increasing the want and refusing the supply. Nor can it be pretended that there is a superabundance of capital in the country. That it has increased, surprisingly increased within the last twenty years, is certainly true. But enterprize, or speculation, if you so please to call it, has increased still more rapidly, and absorbed the capital, as fast as it has been supplied. It has spread in every direction, but it is fixed and not floating. It has enriched the country with solid wealth. New states have been explored and settled : and villages and

cities built, where but a short time since was the home, or the chase ground of the Indian ; but the scarcity of a monied capital has been every where the subject of complaint and alarm, because so many more objects claimed its aid, than there were means of satisfying. Hence the multiplication of banks, and the pernicious extent to which it has been attempted to make a fictitious capital perform the services of a real one. If at the present moment there is any redundancy of capital, it is because, by the stagnation of commerce, some part has been liberated from the usual employment and has not taken as yet any permanent direction.

The capital supplied by this credit on duties has been called a loan to the merchants. But this is a name, which should have been abandoned at the time it was discovered that the consumer and not the importer pays the tax on importation. By means of this facility the merchant, at a cheaper rate, brings foreign goods to the American market, and at the same profit affords them at a less price. The consumer enjoys the advantage of this reduction, for it is the joint elements of labour and capital that regulate the price in a steady and permanent market ; and as these are increased or diminished, so will the price be at which the article is obtained.

That the injunction of prompt payment would take the business from the bands of those who had only moderate capitals, that it would lessen the ability of all, and materially diminish the amount of the foreign trade, are facts, which we think cannot bear discussion. The advantage or disadvantage of this curtailment of commerce is not the point of the inquiry. The *fact* of the tendency of this measure to lessen foreign importations, and with the other measures proposed, very nearly extinguish them, is the subject we are considering. Nor can it well be denied that such consequences would follow, for we learn from high authority that the object is to effect such a limitation as ‘that a new voyage should not be completed on the capital furnished, by the duties on a former one.’

That it would deprive foreigners of the trade, if true, would only prove that it would diminish the amount of importation ; and the supply diminishing, the price must advance. But the trade by which foreigners throw into the market a great amount of property for immediate sale, could not be affected by this measure alone, because any commission merchant, to

whom the cargo was consigned, would as readily pay the cash duty on an endorsement of the bill of lading, as he would receive the goods on deposit and give bond for the cargo, if the money was to be refunded immediately by a forced sale at auction. It became necessary therefore, to make the barriers complete, to stop this facility ; and an auction bill, that should enforce a prohibitory duty of ten per cent. was reported, as a part of this anti-commercial system. That the ‘ auction bill’ is so to be considered, is plain from the fact, that the moment it became a mere measure for revenue, it was thrown out by the House of Representatives. So long as it was part of a system, that depressed foreign importations and facilitated domestic manufactures, it was urged on by a triumphant majority ; but its operation, as a financial arrangement, was disclaimed by the chairman of the committee of manufactures ; and when it would answer no other purpose, it was decisively rejected.

The operation of such a bill is of doubtful character. That it would restrain the importation of foreign goods beyond the demands of the market is probably true ; and thereby prevent the depression of price which an over-trade occasions. This would assist the regular importer as well as the domestic manufacturer, who, in this particular, have a common interest, at variance with the consumer, who is always desirous to buy as cheap as he can.

But these measures, the withholding of credit, the drawback, and the auction bills, are only auxiliary to the main design. The great and controlling character of the system, by which the American people are to command their own resources, become independent of foreign assistance ; maintain a real character of freedom ; and increase their wealth, happiness and renown, is displayed in the projected tariff.

It is necessary to consider this measure in its two fold character of a revenue bill, and a measure of political economy. So far as it directs its operations to mere arrangements of finance, and proposes to supply the means of administering the government, it is one thing, and to be examined by one set of principles and mode of calculation. So far as it assumes the character of a sumptuary law ; as an instrument to compel or even induce men to abandon one mode of business and seek employment in another ; so far as it is a measure, which interferes with great private interests, for the accom-

modation or increase of other private interests, alleged to be more conducive to the public good, it is to be tested by other principles and modes of reasoning. It then leaves the mere compting room of the merchant, and demands an elucidation from the enlarged calculations of the statesman, and the abstrusest principles of political economy. It is obvious that the system in question has both these objects. As a new system for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, it necessarily dries up many streams by which the treasury was supplied; and it assumes the character of a revenue bill, by proposing partial substitutes for the loss. Its advocates leave us in no doubt what course is to be taken to supply the deficiency. It cannot be objected to it as a system, that it is unfinished or incomplete. It marches to its objects with open front, and whichever of them can be accomplished by the means which it contemplates, this system is calculated to effect. We object to the design of it in both senses, as a revenue bill, and as a system of political economy; and it is proper to consider it in this light, because the system in itself is indefensible. No skill in the arrangement of details, no nice and artificial adjustment of smaller parts can compensate for the radical error of attempting to change the habits of a great people, or turn the current of labor, by force of legislative acts, from the natural channel in which it flows, through the locks and canals that may be constructed by its side. The design is to encourage the industry employed in domestic manufactures, to encourage it at the expense of mercantile or agricultural industry. The amount of that expense is not ascertained. Whether it shall in some cases amount to absolute ruin, and in others produce considerable or trifling loss, are questions, for the certain answers of which no sufficient data are provided. But one thing is certain. All that the manufacturers gain by means of legislation is taken from their fellow-citizens in other pursuits; for legislation cannot originate either labour or capital, though it can effectually turn the current of both. It may, to be sure, compel an idle man to work, but its great object in this instance is rather to change than enforce exertion, and this latter circumstance is hardly of importance enough to be called an exception to the general remark.

By the provisions of this bill, the merchant is not to be left in the enjoyment of his present facilities. These interfere

with domestic industry, and must be removed. The question should be understood in this light; and it is erroneous and dangerous to encourage other opinions. I am willing, it is often said, to encourage manufactures, but not at the expense of commerce. I will aid them, says another, but not by jeopardizing the agricultural interests. This is fallacious. What is done by regulation and laws is only to produce a change in the direction of capital and labour; it is to close one gate that the stream may flow more certainly through another. This is well understood by the intelligent advocates of the system, though an illusion is kept up for those, who think that acts of Congress can create wealth as readily as bank charters were once supposed to produce capital. And the question should be met in this way; is the advantage that will accrue to the nation by the increased efforts to encourage and protect domestic manufactures, equal to the injury that will result to the nation from the damage done to other classes of the community, by this protection and encouragement? Is it more than equal, and how much more? For slight convenience and small gains to the public will not justify the infliction of great evil, even on one individual.

As a measure of political economy then, this system proposes that every thing which can be made within the country should be made within the country; and that the domestic manufacturer should have such decided advantages in the home market, as to beat down foreign competition. To effect this, articles made of cotton, woollen, or linen, are to be excluded, or greatly diminished by duties nearly prohibitory; and the impost on hemp, iron, paper, glass, glue, gunpowder, and various smaller articles, are to be increased from $33\frac{1}{3}$ to 100 per cent. The China and East India trade is attacked with a severe, and, as we think, very senseless hostility; and is unreasonably accused, among its other evils, of draining the country of specie.

The suggestion is wholly erroneous. A people who have no mines, cannot export more specie than they import; and the demand for specie which is made by this trade, produces the supply which it consumes.

Besides, this trade furnishes great materials for the carrying trade, the importance of which we have already considered. There is another branch of it however, to which we advert with peculiar satisfaction. It is the entire result of

American enterprise, perseverance, and labour. It takes nothing from the country, but returns after a proper period, laden with the rich earnings of its skill. We allude to the whole commerce of the country on the northwest coast of America, the islands of the Pacific ocean, and the China seas ; a commerce which has astonished Europe, by the fearlessness with which it is undertaken, and the patience and perseverance with which it has been conducted ; and whatever may be thought by missionary societies, of the propriety of supplying the Chinese altars with sandal wood from the Fejee islands, the statesman has seen in it a rapid transmutation of American enterprise and labour into property, by which the nation has flourished and individuals have grown rich.

An attack on the India trade was not however for the first time made by the proposed tariff. The revenue bill at present in operation, by its prohibitory duty on India low priced cottons, has destroyed the trade in that article for domestic consumption. In 1817 fifteen ships were employed from the port of Salem alone, in that trade, and in 1819 two only were engaged in it, nor could these continue after the repeal of the drawback. The tax on the consumers for the benefit of the manufacturers of these fabrics is worthy of notice. This article is estimated in India at six cents per yard, and may be imported and sold at the short price, that is without any impost, at seven cents per yard with a profit. All that it costs the consumer above that price is its tax for the revenue. About one million of dollars per annum were paid into the treasury, as the proceeds of the impost on this article alone, and with this impost the cost to the consumer was only the present price of a similar article in the market. This million of dollars is therefore as directly a bounty to the manufactures, as if paid out of the treasury and divided among them ; and the treasury deficit is supplied by a new tax on some other article of consumption. So that the prohibitory duty has driven the foreign coarse cottons from the market ; the amount of tax on them is lost to the government, the consumer gets the like article no cheaper than he did before, and has to pay his of the million that was received by the tax on importation.

As a measure of revenue, to supply in part the loss occasioned to the treasury by diminished importation, the bill provided that the impost on most articles of necessary consump-

tion, not made or grown here at all, or not produced in sufficient quantity to supply the demand, should be increased from 30 to 50 per cent. Brown sugar is raised from three to four cents per pound; other sugars 25 per cent. The impost on bohea tea and molasses is doubled, and on salt increased 25 per cent. Wine and spirits remain as before. These are the prominent features of the bill, which we have not room to set out in more detail.

Suppose now the object accomplished, which is designed by this system. Suppose the chrysalis state in which we should be passing from a people essentially commercial, to a people essentially manufacturing, were over, and all the evils of diminished supply, extravagant prices, and vexatious impositions, which attend a new state of affairs, were gone by, and the irritations which they caused forgotten, a time indeed that is not very suddenly to arrive, and a resting place not found in the early stages of the new turnpike road on which we are to travel. Yet what will be the effect on the community when matters are arranged as the advocates of this system propose? This surely is the most advantageous period that can be taken for the friends of the measures, for it passes without notice over an interval, however short, of general discontent, when the benefits of ancient pursuits have ceased to operate, and those of the new system have scarcely begun to be felt. In our view of such a period, we must separate what is merely patriotic from what is altogether pecuniary; and must not expect that to flatter our vanity is certainly to add to our wealth. It is one thing to be independent, and another to be affluent. If it be wise to adopt the policy of Lycurgus, let it so be understood, and we may prepare before hand to be proud, republican, and poor. We cannot engraft on it the opposite system of Pericles, and be at the same time refined, luxurious, and rich. The effect of this policy on the wealth of the nation is a subject of anxious consideration; its influence on character is a different and no less important inquiry. Let us attend a moment to each.

Labour is the great and only source of national wealth. That labour which is employed in drawing from the earth or the sea new articles of property, in refining or elaborating what is coarse into that which is fine, or in exchanging the products of one soil, or the fabrics of one set of artizans, for the products or fabrics of another, is in each case a different

mode respectively of increasing the wealth of a country. If one man raise sheep that produce a quantity of wool, if another convert it into coarse cloth, if a third carry it to a distant country and exchange it for furs, and take the furs elsewhere, and barter them for the same quantity of fine cloth, it is easy to see that the labour of each has been usefully employed, and the national wealth increased by each of them. Nor is it of any consequence in which step of the proceeding the most value is added. The agriculturist in the supposed case has originated property, worth, for example, one hundred dollars; the manufacturer has doubled its value, the merchant has exchanged it for an article which on his return is worth but five dollars more. The result of their joint effort has been, that the country has \$205 worth of property, to which each person concerned has in some degree contributed, and it is American labour, whether engaged at home or abroad, that has produced it.

Again, if the farmer raise two parcels of wool, which are worth \$10 each, and deliver one to the manufacturer, who converts it into cloth that is worth \$15, and the other to the merchant, who, by transporting it to a better market, exchanges it for an article worth \$20, it is not easy to perceive why his labour thus employed has not enriched the country to double the amount of the other, and why the increase of value is not as much native American labour, as that which is performed by the manufacturer at home. American industry and capital have been employed on a similar object by different means, and the result is apparent. While there are these two methods of procuring the same thing, a competition is excited, and the consumers, who are the true public, the great body, whose interest is the real interest of the nation, and which embraces all the other classes, will be served on the most favourable terms.

But it is discovered by the friends of the new system, that no competition can be sustained by the manufacturers within the United States, with regard to certain useful articles, against the manufacturers from abroad. In other words, that the same article can be obtained by the merchant and sold to the consumer, cheaper than it can be obtained and sold by the manufacturer in the country. That the present imposts, with which the article in the hand of the merchant is burthened, and from which the same article in the hand of the home

manufacturer is exempted, do not sufficiently embarrass the traffic to give the latter a monopoly of the market; so that measures must be devised to support him.

Now it is very clear that all those classes of manufacturers who can sustain themselves by the present imposts, and who find their trade flourishing under present regulations, are not interested to effect a change; and it is exceedingly manifest that the public would derive no benefit by granting to them facilities, which would only enable them to increase their profit by raising their price. It is accordingly an error to use the terms of this controversy, with that generality in which they have but too often been applied. It is not to encourage manufactures; but some kinds of manufactures. It is to give artificial aid to some branches at the expense of the rest; and in fact to protect the interests of cotton and woollen manufactures, at the cost not only of the agricultural and commercial classes of the community, but of all those who are engaged in other manufacturing concerns. Moreover, when this contemplated protection is obtained, one of two cases must occur. Either foreign importation of these articles will cease, or the goods will come so high charged that the American manufacturer will secure a preference in the market. In such event the capital and enterprise engaged in importation will be thrown out of employment, and the consumer be taxed for the encouragement of manufactures, in a sum equal to the whole amount of the difference of price caused by a free or a restricted trade; by which difference the manufacturer thrives.

But a partial market will not suit the friends of the system. 'We must command our consumption;' that is, our whole consumption. Foreign goods must be excluded from the market, and the trade monopolized by the home manufacturer. Capital must be driven into a new channel, and the labour, which is open to our enterprising citizens, directed to different pursuits. But, when all this is accomplished, the revenue is curtailed and three millions are lost to the public chest. The same money will then buy no more cloth than it does now, because you have excluded what is cheap, that what is dear may find a sale. Hitherto, of every four dollars that the consumer paid for his cloth, one dollar went to the treasury. He now gets the article at a higher price, and yet the call of the government remains to be satisfied. Will those who cause the deficiency create the supply? No. The tax is on

consumption, and he who wears the cloth, not he who makes it, must pay the excise. Besides, the burthen is not exclusive, although the advantage is. It is laid on the consumption of other articles, which will still be imported. Sugar, salt, tea, and coffee, advance in price by the revenue provision of the bill, and the three millions, which are lost in a zeal to ripen by forced heat the yet green manufactures of the country, are to be replaced, by an increase of price on every article of consumption. You have consented to pay a new tax on whatever you wear; you are rewarded by an additional price on whatever you eat. You have ‘commanded your consumption,’ but it is the consumption of the purse. The tea, coffee, pepper, sugar, salt, spices, &c. before enumerated, are by an increased impost, causing of course an increased price in the market, required to refund some part of the treasury loss; and this amount is an additional tax, because it is not relieved by a diminution on any other article. Nor is it the only one which is brought on the consumer. He has to bear the increased price which is thereby artificially created, for so much of the same article as is made within the country, and pays two or three dollars for every one which the treasury receives. This is best proved by example.

Suppose a deficit of three millions is to be supplied in part by an additional duty on pepper. The merchant pays it at the custom house and is refunded by the additional price of the article in the market. As we raise no pepper, the additional price is the additional tax; because all that is consumed has been subject to the duty. But suppose it is in part also to be supplied by additional duties on salt and brown sugar, of which articles we make large quantities, but not enough for consumption. The price of all salt and sugar is raised in the market, and if the consumption be supplied equally by the importer and the manufacturer, each is interested equally in the market price; the former however receives the additional price on the amount he sells, and pays it over to the government; the latter retains it for his own benefit. But the consumer, whether he purchases of the one or the other, pays the price to which the new impost has raised it. Thus to provide one dollar for the treasury, two dollars are taken from the people. And as is the proportion which the home manufacture bears to the quantity imported, will be the loss to the people on the amount paid to the treasury.

The projected measures were so contrived as, on the same importations as in 1818, to supply \$5,800,000 of the amount which, by its prohibitory and protecting duties, the government would lose. But that was a year of extraordinary importation, much above the average of common years, and the imposts produced \$22,000,000. There would not remain the common average of importations, because increase of price lessens consumption. But the greater the importation, the greater is the evil we are considering. The treasury is supplied by an exorbitant tax on the sorts of articles, which are both manufactured in the country and imported from abroad, and the consumers would pay ten millions, before the treasury would realize five. Thus one false step renders another unavoidable, alike in politics and morals.

The hypothesis, that should the new tariff be established, the same amount of importation would continue as before, is wholly fallacious. As the price increases, purchasers diminish ; and as purchasers diminish, importation grows less. The proportion of difference cannot be ascertained with certainty. But as a great portion of the inhabitants on the seaboard would be essentially injured in their ability to purchase, a more than usual diminution would be experienced. Already a great decrease in the quantity of imported goods is found to exist. The demand ceases as the ability to pay ceases ; and when the importer ascertains that his goods will not sell, he has generally good sense enough to lessen his orders. There is no need of interference on the part of government to regulate this. It will as assuredly regulate itself, as water will find its own level. The laws of nature are not more uniform and irresistible, than those which self-interest imposes upon commerce ; and the knowledge which sharp-sighted calculations of profit or loss give to the importer is the best, and in fact the only security against an inadequate supply on the one hand, or an injurious redundancy on the other.

Already it is ascertained that the imposts, which were estimated for this year at 18,000,000, will be less than 15,000,000. What would they have been on the system of the proposed tariff ? The deficiency could not have been less than six millions and probably eight millions of dollars. How is this to be raised ? The advocates of the new system are not backward in declaring it. They admit the necessity of an excise, though they differ as to the manner, in which this great sum

is to be drawn from the people. Articles of luxury must take the foreground of the list, and an excise be laid on furniture, plate, loaf sugar, carriages, watches, jewelry, &c. But the fabricators of these articles are domestic manufacturers, and have acquired and maintained almost the possession of the home market. They give employment to domestic industry. They enable us ‘to command our own consumption’ of the various articles, which a life in any degree above the savage state requires. The consumers are to pay, it is said; but the consumption stops. The price increases and the demand grows less. The interest then of these classes of manufacturers is precisely opposite. If the present duties have given them a monopoly, or even preference of the home market, the excise, or the tariff which makes an excise necessary, is in direct hostility to their interests. And the policy of encouraging, not manufactures at the expense of commerce, but some branches of domestic industry at the expense of others, may well be doubted. Again, the excise, it would seem, should also be laid on distillers of spirit from grain or other articles of domestic produce; for as the duty of ten cents a gallon on molasses would give them a chance for the possession of the home market, and some share of exportation, this tax would not fall unreasonably. But no. On this jealous interest no tax must be laid; and a proposition for this purpose at the last session of Congress was refused even the compliment of a consideration! The little revenue however that would be derived from these sources, could not supply the requisitions of the treasury, and the cotton and woollen manufactories themselves must pay their part of the contribution. Not the whole, as might be equitable, of a deficiency created for their benefit, but a proportion in the ratio of this capital. This they would cheerfully do, if the home market is secured to them; but see the effect on the public. The consumer at present abstains from buying domestic goods, because foreign goods are cheaper; and yet, when he pays this inferior price, one fourth of the amount is received into the national treasury. But foreign goods being excluded, he is compelled to buy the domestic article, which even at the present higher price pays no part of the tax, and which is hereafter to come higher charged by the amount of so much excise and expense of collection as will answer the purposes of government. Nor is this the end of the grievance. A land tax will sooner or later follow in the rear, and complete the array of fiscal exactions.

It is in vain to shut our eyes on this consequence, or attempt to divert it by contrivances, which at best are but temporary, and will augment the future evil rather than control it. The government must be administered, and the expense for a series of years will never average less than the present. To increase in expenditure is the natural progress of affairs. Expence like revolutions 'never goes backward.' The land is the grand fulcrum for the lever, and the financier must use it to move the mighty mass which his operations require. It will be the most fertile contributor to taxation. The circle of evil will then be complete. The resources, which should be reserved for days of darkness and danger will be called forth and exhausted in the very quiet of peace. By our own act we shall then have done, what it is to be hoped no enemy will again be able to effect, we shall have shut our ports against a productive commerce, closed the gates of the treasury through which its stream of wealth was constantly flowing, and supplied its place by those inconvenient and artificial aids, which are the usual concomitants of war, danger, and ruin.

We say nothing of the inconvenience and trouble and expense of an excise and a land tax ; the domiciliary visit, the inquisitive agent of the government, who acts as a spy on every body's private affairs, the exposure of a man's books and business, and the litigations and perplexity which these organized troops of the treasury bring with them. When the times require them, our fellow-citizens will submit to the evil, as they would to pestilence or famine ; but they are establishments wholly hostile to republican habits and totally inconsistent with republican feelings.

The fate of the revenue, and the cry that the treasury is in danger is said to have been a mere scarecrow ; and that this would not in the least deter the advocates of this measure from prosecuting their schemes with confidence and zeal. That such consequences would result are apparent. How they would be remedied is not so plain. If a new activity could be given to the people, they could bear a burthen, which somebody must bear, to keep the government alive. But we really do not comprehend how the fact of compelling one class of citizens to buy goods dear, which they now buy cheap, can facilitate the payment of taxes, or how destroying the revenue, which is raised by importation, and thereby in effect giving to certain manufacturers, as a direct bounty, the whole

amount of so much revenue as the excluded goods would produce, can enable any body but themselves to meet the equivalent demand, which is made on the people.

Capital employed in manufactures will not occupy so many people as the same amount in agriculture or commerce; and as machinery is improved, the number of hands in proportion to capital will still be less. Before the invention of Mr. Whittemore's card machine, which comes as near to fingers and hands and human intelligence, as any combination of wood and iron ever did or can do, the sticking of the cards was done by children and infirm people, and gave employment to a great many persons. The machine receives the leather and the wire, and turns out a perfect card; and the employment of the poor is at an end. Formerly one person had a full day's work to labour at a loom, now a girl attends to two, and each turns out double the former quantity of cloth. The rapidity and extent of these improvements are astonishing. No department of manufacture but has some patent machine to supersede labour. However useful and important these machines may be, and however wonderful the powers of the human mind which they display, this at least must be allowed to be an effect, that they diminish the number of hands to be employed, and cause the same quantity of capital to feed fewer people. Manufacturing establishments furnished with improved machinery, require capital indeed, but not men. They are themselves mighty labour-saving machines, that perform more work than the money which they cost will command from human beings. But this is not the want which besets us. We require not so much to save the necessity of labour, as to find the means of useful employment. We are rather seeking to set every man in the community in busy occupation, than contriving ways and means to supersede his employment. To take a well-known example, the factory at Waltham has a capital of above half a million, and employs two hundred and sixty persons. Invested in shipping, it would employ by the foregoing calculations at least six hundred persons, and in the general concerns of commerce, not less than that number. When the machinery which now moves two looms shall be made so perfect as to move four, one person will be deprived of employment. As the wheel turns more spindles, and the spindle turns off the thread with more certainty and correctness, the amount of human force now em-

ployed will not be wanted. The progress of these improvements is regular and rapid. Where the limit will be, no one can tell, but their tendency is to supersede labour by capital, to make money do the office of men ; to force the machine to take the place of the labourer, and to cause great wealth and little human exertion to perform the same work that otherwise would require multitudes to accomplish. We would not be misunderstood. These machines and this ingenuity are indispensable to the business, and of immense utility to the public. But when it is said that the making of cloth is to give employment to labourers, let it be remembered that the object of this miracle of contrivance is to do without labourers, or with as little of their aid as possible ; and that every improvement in machinery advances nearer to this end. They have already superseded many household manufactures for any other purpose than family consumption ; and greatly as the quantity of business is increased within the last ten years, it is doubtful whether the artizan has not been so far crowded out of employment by the machine, that no more hands are now employed than at that time.

An increase of duty on imported goods is said to be necessary to preserve the investment in machinery and buildings already erected, and to support establishments that would otherwise be ruined. This we deny. That many are injured, and that some have failed is true, but the misfortune originated rather with themselves than the government. Many have been badly managed. It was once considered that a building and a water privilege were the guaranties of success ; and if a bag of cotton was thrown down at the door, it would almost of its own accord become cloth. Agents were entrusted with a superintendence, without intelligence or fidelity. The machinery was badly constructed, or has been superseded by new improvements. An insufficient capital limited the operations ; and buying on credit and selling on credit, were equally unfortunate. To this may be added the common misfortunes of the times, which depressing all business and involving all interests, necessarily took these in their turn. In contradiction however to the assertion we are considering, it is known that well-managed institutions of sufficient capital, flourish under the present encouragement, and make very profitable returns.

If however embarrassments exist, shall they be removed at
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the expense of the commercial capital of the country? Because our villages here and there present a decayed manufactory, shall our cities be made to exhibit a similar spectacle in ruined wharfs, decaying warehouses, and rotting ships? Shall the sea-shore be deserted that the ignorance or imbecility of speculation may be repaired? If the value or the cost of one is a subject of regret, what feelings should be excited by the more valuable and splendid establishments, with which the other has enriched and decorated the republic? Besides this, the kindness of the tariff would be more ruinous to the manufacturers, than any neglect of which they have had to complain. It is intended to be a permanent system, and it would draw the commercial capital into fatal competition with them. The business would be overdone and in this collision all would be sufferers. But should a change again take place, should the measure, which just rubs its way through the Congress of the United States, be viewed with hostility by the defeated party, and circumstances, ever changing, put the power in their hands; should that, which a small plurality had adopted, be repealed, though by as small a majority the other way, should commerce and agriculture regather their depressed strength and pull down the irregular fabric which was reared on their ruins, where then would be the interests of the manufacturers? Or where, we might say, the happiness of the country, torn by rival parties and sacrificing its wealth and prosperity in the conflicts of contending factions?

The prosperity of a people in a great measure rests on the uniformity of the system of government which bears on their business and property. If a man in his calculations for a voyage, is obliged to make insurance against the caprice of his government, he must abandon the enterprize, or incur an expense that may absorb its profits. It is so with manufactures. The immense expense of an establishment is not to be increased when the profit of the concern depends, not on the wants of the people, and the natural combination of circumstances, but on the varying policy of the nation and the permanency of public opinion. It is therefore better and safer that objects be attained in a natural and slow manner, which ensures them constant regard, than to be forced prematurely on the nation with a violence that overturns all interests in their way, and generates a hostility that retires only

for the purpose of making a more vigorous attack when opportunity shall offer.

The agricultural interest is deeply concerned in these projected innovations, and we think with no prospect of benefit from the change. The farmer cannot supply more people than he now does ; for at present he supplies all the people of the country, and he always will do so whether they be more or less. But the advantage of the foreign market will be shut out from him ; for exportation will depend on importation, and if little is wanted from abroad, or can be admitted if brought here, little will be sent away. It is the foreign supply that makes agriculture flourish, and gives quick market and high prices to the raiser of produce ; and the moment the foreign market is supplied or closed, prices fall, or cultivation is diminished, or both consequences follow according to the urgency of the cause. In a country rich enough to be the granary of the world, the feeding of an indigenous population cannot create a demand, that will raise the price of produce much above the price of labour. This is an important consideration, and should be carefully borne in mind. The present state of the market proves it. The home market is regulated by the demand ; and the demand is in proportion to the consumption at home and the quantity exported. Now the home consumption is nearly as great as ever. The population must be fed and clothed, and their food at least is supplied by the farmer. It is the curtailment of foreign trade that produces the deficiency. It is on account of the checks upon the accustomed commerce of the country that so much is not sent abroad as heretofore. The redundancy of production remains, and the price falls. Let the surplus of our fruitful soil be required for the artizans of Europe, for the supply of those swarms who must eat and work, although they work nearly for nothing, and a brisk demand and high prices is the immediate effect. The facilities of inland communication open all our country to the ocean, and produce finds its way to every place of demand. If it be true that in any part of the country domestic produce is at low price, and articles of clothing and foreign goods of all kinds are high, this state of things is in itself enough to afford liberal protection to domestic manufactures ; and no aid of legislation is wanted to secure their advantage. The causes which obstruct their growth are beyond the reach of acts of Congress.

They are retarded by want of capital and want of hands. These are the materials out of which they must flourish. Manufactures grow out of abundant capital and dense population. Both are wanted for their success ; and they will not succeed naturally where both are not readily supplied. No encouragement in the power of the government can give them the means of existence, when nature has denied the aliment by which they live.

These are some of the suggestions which present themselves in a consideration of the advantage of any extraordinary encouragement to internal manufactures, at the expense, or as it may turn out, the sacrifice of other great national interests. But the argument has soared above the smoke of business into a higher region. The market for tobacco and pitch and the manufacturing of wool have become matter of sentiment, and given occasion alternately to rouse our pride and our patriotism. We must be independent of foreign nations, it is said, and we cannot be so if we import their manufactures. This argument is specious, but not sound. Some articles of necessity must be had at home, and as necessity is the mother, and the prolific mother of invention, there can be no great apprehension of a deficiency. But it is with nations as individuals ; fair exchange, open traffic, purchase and trade infer no dependence. Who feels his personal independence lessened because he cannot minister to all the wants of daily life ; because his tradesmen and artizans around him prepare the materials which he requires ? An individual might as well attempt to fix his independence by assuming the character of a jack of all trades, as a nation in modern times and in our state of society, expect to exist without the aid of its neighbours. God in his providence has distributed the materials of his bounty, and it is one of the laws of his government that we should all live, nations as well as individuals, by the exchange of productions and the reciprocity of good offices. There can be in this arrangement neither degrading humility nor diminished importance.

The suggestion therefore of the advocates for the proposed measures, is rather calculated to rouse our feelings, than aid our judgment. As an address to our patriotism it may be met by others of more value, we think, because better founded ; as an argument to common sense, it is well answered by the memorial before us, in the following remarks :

‘ In a certain sense we may be said to depend on foreign nations for whatever we receive from them. But they equally depend on us for the equivalent which we pay them for it, and this dependence is voluntary and mutual. Nor is it any degradation from national dignity. A sovereign, who receives tribute from a foreign country, depends on it for that tribute ; yet he is not therefore its servant, but its master. If one country produces only labour, and exports only manufactures, and another, in return for these, provides it with the raw materials composing them, the former may with most propriety be called dependent ; for since every country has necessarily the capacity to labour in proportion to its population, that which produces the raw material may manufacture it whenever it chooses to do so ; but the ability of the other to labour would be worthless, if it could not procure the material to which that labour may be applied. The exchange of raw cotton then for manufactures makes Europe dependent on America, rather than America on Europe. Ask the planter of the South, which of the two is dependant, himself or the Manchester spinner.’

To those who are inclined to consider the questions before us as in any degree separable from pecuniary balances, there are other topics of interest and excitement worthy of all their regard. What effect will this encouragement produce on the habits of our people ? We look on the increase of manufacturing establishments as decidedly hostile to republican principles, and to the moral character of the community. Their natural tendency is to divide the community into two great classes, the very rich and the very poor, and thereby to destroy that equality on which our institutions are universally founded. Capital and machinery perform the work and receive their share of the profit, an immense profit too, under the circumstances which are projected. The people who direct their operations are mere labourers, day labourers, entitled to and receiving common journeyman’s wages. As long as a demand exists for the article manufactured, and health enables the workman to continue at his labour, the amount of daily compensation keeps himself and his family from indigence. But it does no more ; and any interruption of his avocation brings him in debt, dependence, and misery. The man who travels from his home and his friends, and aids in the formation of a new settlement in the wilderness, has a hard lot ; but it is vastly preferable to the easiest task of the journeyman manufacturer. The former leaves the associations of his in-

infancy, travels to some new spot in the forest, *girdles* his trees, builds a log house, works hard for a year or two, and fares rather coarsely. But the tide of population follows him. He soon has a little family of young and hardy imitators of his enterprize. He pays for his land by their labour, and having lived respectably, dies, and is buried on his own farm, and leaves a freehold inheritance, for division among his children. The other goes to a manufactory ; receives his one dollar or his two dollars per day ; hires a ten-foot building in the vicinity of his work-shop, and taking into account the days he can and those in which he cannot work, makes shift to keep along a miserable existence ; acquires habits that are not easily shaken off ; has nothing left for his old age, if he lives to attain it ; becomes a vagrant, supported by charity ; and is finally buried at the expense of the parish.

This is not indeed the universal, but it is too frequently the comparative progress and result of the two occupations, and it is a state of things with regard to the latter very unfavourable to that elevation of character, which is to secure the permanency of our republican institutions. Constant labour and little means of education take from the tenants of great manufactories the ability to discharge the duties of citizens of a republic, and beget a dependence on the heads of the establishment, which lessens their value as citizens of the Commonwealth. The employment is enervating, and the place where it is carried on is not congenial to activity or health. With the want of instruction comes of course the want of moral susceptibility, and the history of manufacturing districts in those countries where they have been most successfully and extensively carried on, has presented a loathsome picture of a diseased, depraved, ignorant, and factious population.

It is in the ordinary course of affairs that great manufacturing establishments will arise and will flourish, but we think it unwise to accelerate their arrival. While there is an ocean to be traversed, or land to be cultivated, and while the hardihood and the vigour and the love of freedom, which these occupations give, are within the reach of our citizens, we are not desirous of diverting any large classes of our population to manufacturing concerns. We are not anxious to see the American Hercules at the distaff. The loom and the spindle are not the armour of national defence, and great manufac-

ries are not the best schools to learn the lessons which must preserve our republican institutions. They will grow as the country grows. They are the natural result of an excessive population, and when they come naturally they can be endured, because other departments increase with them, and then should danger require it, our armies and our navy, recruited from the adventurous sons of the ocean, or the substantial cultivators of the soil, will be able to protect the tenants of these institutions, always too feeble to protect themselves. The true domestic industry which it is the policy of this country to encourage ; that which will subserve the republican institutions by preserving the intelligence and purity of manners of our countrymen, is the industry of private families. This branch of domestic manufacture has strong claims to encouragement. It produces a spirit of industry among the people, and prevents the mingling of men, women and children in common masses in the workship, to the corruption of manners, and the enfeebling of the moral principle. It produces no dependence on the great and wealthy men, whose fortunes accumulate with the rapidity of the spindles in a great manufactory. It is not the sole employment, and therefore not relied on as the means of subsistence, but it comes usefully in aid of other avocations, and gives a spirit of economy and frugality, which are the best virtues of our country.

Let these be encouraged as much as can be done with convenience. While they maintain their own good respectability and give employment to a vast number of industrious and worthy people, they interfere with no other employment, and produce no rival interests that thrive only on the ruin of their neighbours.

Before closing these remarks, we cannot but congratulate our readers that one part of the anti-commercial system has been expressly disclaimed in the present session of Congress, by the organ of the committee, who reported the bills last winter. The manner in which this has been done and the extraordinary language of rebuke, with which the petitions against the repeal of the drawback are dismissed by the committee, unparliamentary as they seem to us, need not now be made the subject of remark. That the fact that one of the bills, reported last winter by the committee of manufactures, not only did not repeal, but provided for the continuance of drawback, furnishes a ground for dismissing with contumely peti-

tions against such repeal, we regard as a most irregular and unprecedented suggestion ; grounded on an overweening importance attached by the committee to their own functions. The history of the measures is briefly this. It is well known that a resolution to abolish drawback was brought forward in Dec. 1819, by a western member, with the concurrence, as was generally understood, of the zealous partizans of the manufacturing interest. This resolution was laid on the table, and was received with a burst of disapprobation by the commercial part of the community. The Missouri question came on, and all other business was laid aside. That question was decided, the committee of manufactures reported their bills, one of them contained sections providing for drawback, and these bills were lost. Now it might as well be argued that the loss of these bills ought to prevent the remonstrances of the merchant against their principles, as that the silent death of the resolution against drawbacks should prevent remonstrances against that. Of what consequence is it to the merchant, by what individual member of a great and active interest, the measures, which he regards as fatal, are proposed ? Of what avail is it to him that a report of a committee, vested with no deciding power, which report may be moulded to any form in the hands of the house, that this report provides for drawback ; while a motion to abolish it, proceeding from the same general quarter, is still on the table of the house ? Or if it be granted that the renunciation, on the part of the committee, of any design against the drawback, furnish encouragement to hope for its security, does this amount to so strong an assurance, as to make it not only superfluous but indecent to petition against the principle of a resolution, brought forward in pursuance of the same general policy, and capable at any moment of being called up and enacted ?